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ABSTRACT

This paper illustrates increases in the use of English in political speeches in post-Suharto Indonesia by analyzing the phonological, morphological, and syntactic assimilation of loanwords (linguistic borrowing), as well as hybridization and code switching, and phenomena such as doubling and loan translations. The paper also examines the mixed public reaction to this increase in English usage. It analyzes examples of borrowing from political speeches of former President Habibie and current President Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur). Analysis of English loanwords from these speeches indicates that most of the loanwords were phonologically and morphologically assimilated to different degrees into Indonesian (some had been around long enough to appear in the dictionary). One reason for the use of English loanwords, even when there was an Indonesian equivalent, was the connotative meaning of the words involved. Another reason was economy (one short word versus a long word). In regard to public reaction, some Indonesians have tried to imitate the political leaders' use of English, while others have felt excluded by the use of a code they cannot understand. An appendix presents types of lexico-grammatical transfer in speeches by Habibie and Gus Dur. (Contains 17 references.) (SM)

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English in Political Discourse of Post-Suharto Indonesia

Suzanne Bernsten

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English in Political Discourse of Post-Suharto Indonesia

Suzanne Bernsten

Introduction

Indonesia has recently undergone great political and economic change as a result of the fall of Suharto and the Asian monetary crisis. These changes have affected the discourse of political leaders. Although English loanwords were used occasionally by political leaders in the past, since 1998 the number of English loanwords used in political discourse has increased. In addition, the way English is used in political speeches has changed. In the past, most English loanwords were phonologically or syntactically assimilated. Currently, political leaders have started using many English words preceded by Indonesian loan translations.

The purpose of this paper is to illustrate the increase in the use of English in political speeches through an analysis of the phonological and syntactic assimilation of loanwords, as well as hybridization, and phenomena such as doubling and loan translations. Also, I will look at the mixed public reaction to this increase in the use of English. Some Indonesians have tried to imitate the political leaders' use of English, while others have felt excluded by the use of a code that they cannot understand. Finally, I will discuss future implications of this expansion of the functional range of English into the domain of politics.

The Borrowing of Foreign Words into Indonesian

As a borrowing language, present day Indonesian has been influenced by a number of languages. Indonesian originates from Malay, which was used historically as a trade language in the region. Since Indonesian was not spoken as a native language by anyone in the region, regional languages such as Javanese, and Minangkabau also had an impact on Indonesian. In pre-colonial times Sanskrit had a great influence in the region through its association with Buddhism and Hinduism, religions that were introduced into Java and Bali. In the eleventh

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and twelfth centuries, Arabic was brought to the region as the language of Islam. Portuguese was introduced into Indonesia by explorers, traders and missionaries. Finally, Dutch had a major influence on Indonesian, as it was the language of colonization for over 250 years.

While Indonesian was influenced to various degrees by all of these languages, a language crisis arose around the time of Indonesian independence in the 1940's. During colonial times, although few Indonesians had access to schooling, Dutch was the language of instruction in schools throughout the Dutch East Indies. When the Japanese occupied Indonesia in 1942, the teaching of Dutch was outlawed and Indonesian replaced Dutch as the medium of instruction in schools. At that time, because there were no textbooks available in Indonesian, teachers began to translate the Dutch textbooks. However, many Dutch technical terms had no Indonesian equivalents, so teachers had to make up their own terms. Individuals coined many different terms for the same ideas. Because this caused confusion in schools and government offices, in 1942 during the Japanese occupation, a commission was created to standardize Indonesian (Alisjahbana, 1976, 69). The work of the commission continued when Indonesian became the national language of Indonesia at independence in 1945.

The task of this language standardization commission was to take Malay, the lingua franca, and convert it into a modern language by adding technical and scientific vocabulary (Kaehler, 1978, 246). The strategy the commission followed was to first search for an Indonesian equivalent for technical terms. Next, they tried to find a word in one of the many regional languages. After that, they chose words from Sanskrit or Arabic, which traditionally were used to coin new Indonesian words. As a last resort, they used words from Western languages such as Dutch or English.

Since 1975, a booklet called the General Guide to Term Formation (Pedoman Umum Pembentukan Istilah) has been used to provide guidelines for creating new terminology. The booklet allows for the use of foreign words only if they are more exact because of connotation, if they are shorter, if the international form facilitates transfer needs, or if the Indonesian equivalent has too many synonyms (Smith, 1997, 272).

However, Lowenberg (1991) observes that beyond this set of guidelines, the decision of which language to borrow from also rests on the domain of the word. Words for literature and culture are usually borrowed from Sanskrit because these areas reflect Indonesian traditional values. Political and military leaders also borrow words from Sanskrit to promote nationalism because the time of Hindu influence is known as the time when Indonesia had great political power (Alisjahbana, 1976, 75). However, in the domain of modern science and technology, words are more often borrowed from English.

Even though terminology guides recommend finding Indonesian equivalents for terms or using terms from languages with a long history in Indonesia, such as Sanskrit and Arabic, in practice English is often used. For example, the term "sociology" was originally coined from Arabic as "ilmu masyarakat" meaning the "science of society." However, Soekanto's dictionary of sociology published in 1983 uses the English loanword "sosiologi" in its title "kamus sosiologi" rather than the term coined by language planners (Smith, 1997, 276). In the field of sociology, this puts Indonesian students at a disadvantage, as no dictionaries with conceptual definitions of these terms are available. Thus, a certain amount of English is necessary to understand these new terms in sociology.

The Use of English in Indonesia

In 1975 at the National Language Policy seminar, four distinct functions were defined for foreign languages in Indonesia, although in practice the main language involved has been English. The functions include serving as a tool for research/development of modern knowledge, international relations, practical needs such as tourism, trade, diplomacy, military affairs, and as a linguistic resource to enrich Indonesian (Smith, 1997, 41).

Lowenberg (1991) points out that the major contribution of English to Indonesian is in this last function, as a linguistic resource to enrich Indonesian with borrowed lexicon. Actually, English is rarely used between Indonesians. However, to understand Indonesian today, some knowledge of English is necessary. For this reason, Lowenberg argues that English should be seen as not as a foreign language but as an "additional" language in Indonesia.

Source of Data/Methodology

I became interested in this topic when I lived in Indonesia from 1997 to 1999. I remember watching one of Habibie's first speeches as president with my Indonesian host family. I was struck that Habibie used so many English words in his speech that I had to "translate" parts of his speech to my Indonesian host family. Lowenberg (1991) describes this borrowing by political leaders in the article *English as an Additional Language in Indonesia.* This is not new to Indonesia as previous Presidents Sukarno and Suharto also borrowed English words into their speeches. For example, Lowenberg (1991) observes that in the domain of government, officials often use English to emphasize their modernity. Lowenberg gives as examples the following statements of President Sukarno (1) and President Suharto (2).

(1) *Dedicate* dijiwa-ragamu kepada *service of freedom*.
Dedicate your soul and body to the *service of freedom*.

(2) Adanya kepastian hukum, adanya "*The rule of law*" akan menggairahkan melantarjarkan kegiatan ekonomi.
The existence of sound law, the existence of "*The rule of law*," will encourage economic activity.

However, more recently, the borrowing of English words in the domain of politics has further accelerated. Setiono (1999), a lecturer from the English department at Atma Jaya Catholic University in Jakarta observes:

> The influx of foreign languages, particularly English loanwords or borrowing, has so far increased significantly and uncontrollably in various domains such as in politics, economics, commerce, the mass media, government administration and higher education.

In this paper, I will analyze examples of borrowing from political speeches of former President Habibie and current President Abdurrahman Wahid, commonly know as Gus Dur. I looked the following speeches by each President:

Speeches by Habibie
- Government Statement on the Draft State Budget for 1999-2000 to the House of the People's Representatives Delivered by the President of the Republic of Indonesia (January 5, 1999), H1
- Response to the Incident on November 13. (November 16, 1998), H2
- Independence Day Speech at a Plenary Session of the House of People's Representatives (August 15, 1998), H3

Speeches by Abdurrahman Wahid
- State Address before the House of the People's Representative as delivered by Vice President, Megawati (August 16, 2000), G1
- Response of the President to the Questions of Parties in the People's Consultative Assembly (August 9, 2000), G2
- Speech before the Annual Session of the People's Consultative Assembly (August 7, 2000), G3

These speeches covered a variety of topics ranging from national unity to economic concerns. The speeches were addressed to either the House of People's Representatives

(DPR) or the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR). I chose these speeches because they were aired on national television during a time of political crisis in Indonesia, so they reached a wider audience than just the Assemblies.

I obtained transcripts of the speeches in Indonesian on the Indonesian Department of Foreign Affairs website. Some of the translations are from the website and others are my own. In the speeches, I attempted to identify the English loanwords. However, it was often difficult to trace the origin of the loanword. Some of the words I attribute as English borrowings could actually be of Dutch origin. Even after independence, Dutch continued as the language of prestige and Dutch-speaking intellectuals played an important role in helping build Indonesia after independence (De Vries, 125). De Vries observes that the origin of some loans is uncertain. For example, words such as *era*/era, *hobi*/hobby, *prospek*/prospect, *slogan*/slogan, and *teleks*/telex could have been borrowed from either Dutch or English.

Linguistic Description of Borrowing

The loanwords I identified as English origin were assimilated to different degrees into Indonesian. Some of these words have been in Indonesian long enough to appear in the dictionary, while others are newer borrowings. The different types of lexico-grammatical transfer are described in the following section.

Phonological and Morphological Assimilation

Most of the loanwords I identified as English origin were phonologically and morphologically assimilated to different degrees into Indonesian. English nouns that were borrowed often took the ending –si, a Dutch suffix now common in Indonesian, rather than the English suffix –tion. (Stevens, 75) Examples of this include, *hiperinflasi*/hyperinflation, *korupsi*/corruption, *kolusi*/collusion, *redefinisi*/redefinition, *reproduksi*/reproduction,

komunikasi/communication, *globalisasi*/globalization, *disintegrasi*/disintegration, and *anti diskriminasi*/anti discrimination.

One way English loans have resisted phonological assimilation in Indonesian is in the retention of consonant clusters. In the past, consonant clusters did not occur in Indonesian words except in the case where the consonant cluster began with an /r/ in the middle of a word (DeVries, 129). However, Alsijahbana (1984) explains that consonant clusters are often retained in foreign borrowings in the interest of avoiding long words with many syllables (86). The retention of consonant clusters was exhibited by some loanwords in the speeches such as *kreatif*/creative, *proactif*/proactive, *reproduksi*/reproduction, *globalisasi*/globalization, *disintegrasi*/disintegration, *anti diskriminasi*/anti discrimination.

Syntactic Assimilation

Other words were syntactically assimilated into Indonesian. See appendix for all further examples. Two of these phrases *prinsip-prinsip universal*/universal principles (4) and *media massa*/mass media (5) follow the Indonesian word order of Noun + Adjective. The phrase *prinsip-prinsip universal* also features reduplication that makes a plural form. Some other nouns are also reduplicated such as *agenda-agendanya*/their agendas (6) and *kroni-kroninya*/their cronies (7). In addition, these two phrases have the suffix *–nya* that makes them possessive. Indonesian prefixes and suffixes are also added to other words. *Optimal*/optimal becomes *mengoptimalkan*/to optimize (8), the addition of *me-* and *–kan* to make the verb transitive and causative. The prefix *se-* that means "as" turns *maksimal*/maximal into *semaksimal*/as maximal (9). The addition of *ber-* to *participasi* and to *organisasi* makes the intransitive verbs *berparticipasi* and *berorganisasi* (10).

Doubling: Loan Translation + English Gloss

One common way English was borrowed in the speeches was as a loan translation in Indonesian followed by the English gloss. I did a brief survey of three speeches by Suharto from the 1990s and found no instances of this kind of lexical transfer in his speeches. However, loan translations followed by English glosses were often used by Habibie and Gus Dur to discuss concepts from government and banking.

In many cases, the loan translation does not have the same meaning as the English gloss. For example, the loan translation for 'top down,' *dari atas ke bawah* (12) literally means from the top to the bottom and 'bottom up,' *dari bawah ke atas* (13) literally means from the bottom to the top. Unless someone has a background in political science, this loan translation means nothing. An example from banking is *bantuan*/pledge (22). *Bantuan* simply means 'aid/assistance,' so the English word is added to make sure the loan translation is correctly interpreted as a special kind of monetary assistance, a pledge.

Hybridizations

Other phrases were hybridizations where one word was taken from English and another word from Indonesian. Some of the hybridizations followed the Indonesian word order of Noun + Adjective, such as *pentas ekonomi global*/global economic arena (27), *otonomi daerah*/regional autonomy (28). Other hybridizations include *tingginya konflik*/heightened conflict (29), *supremasi hukum*/supremacy of law (30) and *dibuka akses informasi*/open access to information (31).

Code Switching

While most code switches appear as doubles with Indonesian loan translations, a few appear as multi-word switches with no attempt at phonological or morphological assimilation

into Indonesian. Examples (32-36) include *critical mass, power struggle, personal rule, civil society, understanding, technical arrangement*. These examples refer mostly to political concepts.

Loan Shift

I found one instance of a loan shift (37), *dipercaya dan dihormati rakyat* (legitimate). The Indonesian paraphrase can be translated as 'the trust and the respect of the people.' This was found in a speech where Habibie was discussing plans for the upcoming elections. These were to be the first real elections in Indonesian history. The elections would be "legitimate" in the legal sense that the people's votes would be counted and a winner chosen based on the votes. And because of the election's legal legitimacy the election would also be "legitimate" in the sense discussed in the paraphrase, the election would have the "trust and the respect" of the people.

Discussion

One reason for the preference for using English loanwords even when there is an Indonesian equivalent, is the connotative meaning of the words involved. Setiono gives the example of the word *asisten* 'assistant.' The Indonesian word with a similar meaning is *pembantu*, which usually refers to a servant. The connotation of the word does not allow the word to be adapted to the modern context of the business world. Similarly, Lowenberg (1983) explains that English borrowings often carry new meanings for modern commercial enterprises. The word borrowed from English *bisnis*/business refers to modern commercial enterprise while the Indonesian word *dagang* refers to a small, traditional business (81). In the speeches, there was also an example of an English loanword used for the connotative meaning. The word *jender*/gender (3) was used even though there is an Indonesian

equivalent, *jenis kelamin*. While *jenis kelamin* refers to the biological distinction between man and woman, *jender* expands the concept to include the social implications of gender in the modern context of anti-discrimination and democracy.

Another reason for the choice of English is the principle of economy, one short word is preferred over a paraphrase or a long word (De Vries, 125). Two examples of the principle of economy are demonstrated in the speeches. The loanword *kreatif*/creative used rather than the Indonesian equivalent, *memiliki daya cipta*/having creative power. A final case where the English words were borrowed because of the principle of economy is with the phrase *korupsi, kolusi, dan nepotisme* 'corruption, collusion, and nepotism.' If you look up *nepotisme*/nepotism in the dictionary, the equivalent is a long paraphrase. Instead of reciting the long paraphrase, the English loanword is used.

Stevens (1973) discusses the popularity of using abbreviations and acronyms in Indonesian. This tradition continues today. A popular abbreviation that came about after the economic crisis in Asia was *krismon*. It is an abbreviation for *krisis moneter* 'monetary crisis.' This phrase is now so widespread that it is even used as the title of a children's song.

A popular acronym created with the fall of Suharto is *KKN*. It comes from the initials of *korupsi, kolusi, nepotisme* 'corruption, collusion, nepotism.' This acronym is used frequently in the speeches I looked at, see example (7). The acronym KKN is also commonly used by members of the public to refer to the need for political reform in post-Suharto Indonesia. Before the fall of Suharto, this problem of corruption and nepotism could only be hinted at for fear of being heard criticizing the Suharto government. Interestingly, this acronym, KKN, has a double meaning. Before the fall of Suharto it meant *kuliah, kerja, nyata* or obligatory rural social action internships for advanced university students. Now the

meaning of the acronym has two different meanings depending on the context in which it is used. There is the old positive meaning and the newer negative meaning.

Reaction to Use of English in Speeches

There has been a mixed reaction to the widespread borrowing from English. Juwono Sudarsono, the Minister of Education, recently criticized members of the People's Consultative Assembly for "an excessive use of foreign language" (Setiono, 1999). In informal interviews with Indonesian graduate students at University of Illinois, there was a negative reaction to the borrowing of English in the speeches. It was thought that Indonesian was being corrupted and that there were perfectly good Indonesian words for the expressions that English was used for. At times in Indonesia's history, the government has tried to protect Indonesian by banning English from billboards, shopping center names, buildings, and companies. This is an example of what Kachru (1986) describes as the love/hate relationship with English (15). While the Englishization of Indonesian is often criticized by politicians, these same people send their kids to English classes at night, not wanting their children to be left behind in the global economy.

This negative reaction to English loanwords has been echoed by some language planners who insist on the coining of Indonesian equivalents even when there are already widely accepted English loan words, such as *turis* and *otonomi*. This demonstrates the difference between visible and invisible language policy. Words coined by language planners are not always adopted by Indonesians.

Alisjahbana (1976) believed that in coining words, if there was no native word, the international word should be preferred. By international, he meant words of Greco-Latin origin. For example, Alisjahbana explains that although the word '*turis*' was widely

understood, language planners coined a new Indonesian word, *parawisata*. Alisjahabana disagreed with this coining as the new word was longer and there was already a word that people understood, *turis* (29). Alisjahbana cites another case where the international loan has become more popular than the Indonesian word. While language planners coined an Indonesian version of the word *otonomi*/autonomy, *swatantra*, this word is rarely used because the international loan is so widely known (119).

Some have reacted positively to the widespread borrowing of English by government officials and have even tried to copy the officials' use of English loanwords. Benedict Anderson (1966) cites Swiss historian and publicist Herbert Luethy's description of Indonesian:

> as a 'synthetic' language that has borrowed 'copiously and indiscriminately from all of the technical terminologies and ideological abstractions of the modern world,' and that is 'scarcely intelligible, in its newer parts, to the average Indonesian, who listens to the official speeches all the more admiringly for being able to make nothing of them.'" (123)

A quick look at a current issue of the Indonesian online magazine, *Tempo Interaktif,* and you can find headlines like *Kupon Yes, Kupon No*/Welfare Yes, Welfare No (*Tempo Interaktif*, Jakarta, March 25, 2000, Opinion Section) and *Presiden Wahid, How Low Can You Go?* (*Tempo Interaktif*, Jakarta, May 8, 2000, Opinion Section). Government leaders are not alone in using English when there are equivalent terms in Indonesian, but this practice is common among members of the public.

Future Implications

What will this borrowing mean to the intelligibility of Indonesian to the non-English speaking population? On the one side, levels of English proficiency are increasing. As more people learn English they are more likely to be able to participate in the global economy for

which they need English. As Setiono (1999) gives a pragmatic explanation in his article, *English loanwords: Imperialism or Modernization?*, the increased borrowing of English into Indonesian is inevitable. The government cannot stop the spread of English as shown with the failure of language planning to coin words that are used by the public. Rather than condone the use of English, English should be seen as a linguistic resource that can be used to enrich Indonesian.

On the other side, the borrowing of Indonesian by elites segregates the elite from the common people. While politicians are using English to try and show their identities as modern political leaders, they are effectively excluding a large portion of the population. Clearly, the audience for the speeches is not the common people but Indonesians educated abroad and possibly foreign investors. Outside of the political arena, in fields such as sociology, Smith (1997) explains that the borrowing of English words puts Indonesian students at a disadvantage, as no dictionaries with conceptual definitions of these terms are available.

In either case, the forces of globalization ensure that English will continue to expand in importance in the power domains of Indonesia.

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Appendix

I. Types of Lexico-Grammatical Transfer in Speeches by Habibie & Gus Dur

A. Phonological and Morphological Assimilation

(3) Keadilan dan kesetaraan *jender* dapat dibangun permerintahan yang demokratis yang dilandasi oleh semangat *anti diskiriminasi*. (G2, 6)
In the spirit of anti-discrimination, the democratic government is committed to promoting greater equality based on gender.

B. Syntactic Assimilation

e.g. *prinsip-prinsip universal*/universal principles, *media massa*/mass media, *agenda-agendanya*/their agendas, *kroni-kroninya*/their cronies, *mengoptimalkan*/to optimize, *semaksimal*/as maximal, *berorganisasi*/to organize, *berpartisipasi*/to participate

(4) Globalisasi ekonomi menghendaki diterapkannya *prinsip-prinsip universal*, seperti pengelolaan yang baik (good governance)... (G1, 3)
Economic globalization requires the implementation of *universal principles* such as good governance...

(5) Sektor politik, hubungan luar negeri, penerangan, komunikasi dan *media massa* mendapatkan alokasi sebesar Rp 154,0 miliar. (H1, 19)
Politics, foreign relations, information, communication and *mass media* have a budget allocation of Rp. 154.0 billion.

(6) ...kami juga mengingatkan para mahasiswa di seluruh Indonesia, bahwa di tengah-tengah suasana serba baru saat ini kelompok politik dan kelompok kepentingan tertentu ikut memanfaatkan suasana untuk mewujudkan *agenda-agendanya* yang tidak sejalan degan kebutuhan mendesak dalam era reformasi. (H2, 1)
...we also must remind students all over Indonesia that in the middle of this completely new environment at the moment there are political groups and interest groups who want to take advantage of this environment to push *their agendas* that do not fit with the objectives of this era of reformation.

(7) ... mencerminkan aspirasi dan harapan masyarakat seperti antara lain, upaya pemberantasan *KKN* dan pengusutan kekayaan pejabat negara dan mantan pejabat, keluarga dan *kroni kroninya* maupun pihak swasta dan konglomerat termasuk mantan Presiden Soeharto...(H2, 1)
...reflected the aspirations and hopes of the people, among others, efforts to eliminate corruption, collusion, and nepotism and the investigation of the wealth of state officials and former officials, their families and *cronies* as well as business interests and conglomerates including former President Suharto...

(8) ... kita bisa menciptakan kesepakatan-kesepakatan baru dalam *mengoptimalkan* pengabdian kita bersama kepada bangsa dan negara RI yang kita cintai bersama. (G1, 4)
... may we be able to construct new concords in order to *optimize* our service to our beloved nation and state of Indonesia.

(9) Pelaksanaan hubungan ekonomi luar negeri *semaksimal* mungkin kita arahkan untuk memanfaatkan seluruh potensi yang ada pada negara-negara yang memiliki kemampuan keuangan, manajemen, teknologi dan jaringan (networking). (G3, 6)

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Foreign economic relations are aimed at *maximizing* the potential from those countries that have financial, management, networking, and technological capabilities.

(10) Untuk itu, kepada mereka perlu dibuka akses informasi, kebebasan *berorganisasi* dan kesempatan *berpartisipasi* dalam pengambilan keputusan yang menyangkut dirinya sendiri. (G1, 2)
There is therefore a need for them to have open access to information, freedom to organise, and also the opportunity to participate in the decision-making proccess involving their own self-being.

C. Loan Translations + English Gloss
e.g. *dari atas ke bawah* (top down), *dari bawah ke atas* (bottom-up), *pendiri Republic* (founding fathers), *kesalingtergantungan* (interdependency), *pengelolaan di bidang pemerintahan* (public governance), *pengelolaan di bidang pemerintahan di dunia usaha* (corporate governance), *pengelolaan yang buruk* (bad governance), *pengelolaan yang baik* (good governance), *masyarakat madani* (civil society), *pengembangan masyarakat* (community development), *penegakan hukum* (law enforcement), *sistem peradilan pidana* (criminal justice system), *bantuan* (pledge), *hibah khusus* (specific grant), *hibah yang bersifat khusus* (specific block grant), *tindak percepatan* (crash program), *padu* (solid), *jaringan* (networking)

Government Terms

(11) Bukan tanpa sengaja para *pendiri Republik* (*founding fathers*) merumuskan"mecerdaskan kehidupan bangsa"sebagai tujuan pembentukan negara Republik Indonesia. (H3, 13)
It was not unintentional that the *founders of the Republic* formulated "the development of the intellectual life of the nation" as a goal in forming the Republic of Indonesia.

(12) Paradigma stabilitas yang diwujudkan dengan pendekatan keamanan dan alur mekanisme *dari atas ke bawah* (*top down*) melalui pemerintahan yang kuat, yang dilakukan selama ini... (H3, 15)
The security and *top down* approach used up until now by the strong government has resulted in the stable paradigm...

(13) Pendekatan demokratis dan kesejahteraan ini berintikan pada adanya transparansi dan mekanisme dan *dari bawah ke atas* (*bottom-up*) – baik dalam kephidupan berbangsa dan bernegara ... (H3, 15)
Transparency is the core of a democratic, *bottom up* approach which is good for the people and the nation...

(14) Kemajuan yang dicapai oleh teknologi telekomunikasi dan informasi yang terjadi selama dua dekade terakhir menyebabkan dunia semakin terbuka dan mendorong *kesalingtergantungan* (*interdependency*) yang besar antar bangsa-bangsa. (H3, 15)
Developments in telecommunication and information technology over the last two decades have made the world more open and have pushed nations to greater *interdependency*.

(15) Unsur utama keempat dari program stabilisasi dan reformasi ekonomi kita adalah langkah-langkah untuk memperbaiki tata kerja dan cara-cara *pengelolaan di bidang pemerintahan* (*public governance*) maupun di *dunia usaha* (*corporate governance*). (H3, 10)
The fourth element of the stabilization program and economic reform is to take strides towards the improvement of *public governance*, as well as *corporate governance*.

(16) ...rapuhnya institusi akibat *pengelolaan yang buruk* (*bad governance*)... (G1, 3)
... the crumbling of institutions caused by *bad governance*...

(17) Globalisasi ekonomi menghendaki diterapkannya prinsip-prinsip universal, seperti *pengelolaan yang baik* (*good governance*)... (G1, 4)
Economic globalization requires the implementation of universal principles such as *good governance*...

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(18) Dalam rangka reformasi itu kita berusaha dengan sungguh-sungguh membangun masyarakat yang adil, terbuka dan demokratis, atas dasar sendi-sendi *masyarakat madani* (*civil society*). (H3, 13)
In the era of reformation we are wholeheartedly trying to develop a fair, open and democratic society, based on the principles of a *civil society*.

(19) Dalam kaitan ini aspek lingkungan hidup dan *pengembangan masyarakat (community development*) merupakan prasyarat dan tidak boleh diabaikan dalam keseluruhan pengembangan ekonomi dan industri nasional. (G3, 9)
In this regard, environment and *community development* constitute a necessary condition and cannot be disregarded in the growth of the national economy and industry.

(20) Kedua, meningkatkan *penegakan hukum* (*law enforcement*) secara tegas terhadap pelanggaran hukum, terutama yang berakibat pada penderitaan rakyat dan berdapak disintegrasi bangsa dan negara (H1, 6)
Second, to improve *law enforcement* against law violations, especially those causing people's suffering and the disintegration of the nation and country.

(21) Pertama, pemisahan secara tegas fungsi dan wewenang aparat penegak hukum dalam mewujudkan tegaknya *sistem peradilan pidana* (*criminal justice system*) di lingkungan peradilan, untuk mencapai proporsionalitas, profesionalitas, dan itegritas yang utuh. (H1, 6)
First, to make a clear separation between the function and authority of law enforcement officials with a view to upholding a *criminal justice system* in court, so as to obtain complete proportionality, professionalism and integrity.

Banking Terms

(22) ...dan hasilnya adalah dukungan masyarakat internasional terhadap upaya pemulihan ekonomi Indonesia, yang dicerminkan dalam *bantuan*(*pledge*) CGI yang tertinggi yang pernah kita terima. (H1,11)
...and this has led to international support in Indonesia's economic recovery measures, as reflected by the highest *pledge* ever received from the CGI.

(23) Beberapa Inpres yang bersifat *hibah khusus* (*specific grant*) seperti Inpres SD dan Inpres Sarana Kesehatan digabungkan ke dalam Dana Pembangunan Propinsi dan Dana Pembangunan Kabupaten dan Kota sebagai komponen kelompok *hibah yang bersifat khusus* (*specific block grant*). (H1, 16)
Other INPRES that recieved a *specific grant*, like the Elementary School INPRES and Health Infrastructure INPRES are integrated into the Provincial Development Fund and Regency and Municipality Development Fund as a *specific block grant*.

(24) Di Irian Jaya suatu *tindak percepatan* (*crash program*) telah dirancang bersama antar berbai instansi untuk mendukung pemerintah daerah dalam percepatan pembangunan di propinsi itu.(G3, 10)
In Irian Jaya, a *crash program* has been designed jointly by various agencies with a view to supporting the regional government in its efforts to accelerate development in the provinces.

(25) Rekapitalisasi juga didukung oleh penunjukkan manajemen baru yang lebih *padu* (*solid*) disertai penerapan kontrak manajemen dan kontrak kinerja untuk menjaga kondisi kesehatan bank tersebut.(G3,7)
Re-capitalization is also supported by the installment of new and more *solid* management, followed by the implementation of management and working contracts to keep banks healthy.

(26) Pelaksanaan hubungan ekonomi luar negeri semaksimal mungkin kita arahkan untuk memanfaatkan seluruh potensi yang ada pada negara-negara yang memiliki kemampuan keunangan, manajemen, teknologi dan *jaringan* (*networking*). (G3, 6)
Foreign economic relations are aimed at maximizing the potential from those countries that have financial, management, *networking*, and technological capabilities.

D. Hybridization

e.g. *pentas ekonomi global*/global economic arena, *otonomi daerah*/regional economy, *tingginya konflik*/heightened conflict, *komitmen yang tinggi*/strong commitment, *supremasi hukum*/supremacy of law, *dibuka akses informasi*/open access to information

(27) Masing-masing kelompok usaha memiliki tugas dan fungsi yang jelas dan dalam semangat kebersamaan, akan memungkinkan terwujudkan sinergi positif dalam membangun ekonomi nasional yang tangguh dan mampu bersaing dalam *pentas ekonomi global*. (H1, 5)
Each group has its own clearly–defined function and task which, imbued with the spirit of solidarity, will produce a positive synergy and strengthen the national economy that so that we can compete in the *global economic arena*.

(28) Demikian pula, pemerintah akan tetap memiliki *komitmen yang tinggi* untuk terus mengembangkan kehidupan demokrasi, hak-hak asasi manusia, keadilan, supremasi hukum, kesejahteran rakyat, *otonomi daerah*, stabilitas dan ketertiban masyarakat. (G3, 12)
Similarly, the government will maintain a *strong commitment* to keep on improving democratic life, human rights, justice, supremacy of law, social welfare, *regional autonomy* and social stability.

(29) Arus disintegrasi yang benar-benar mengancam eksistensi negara kesatuan dan keutuhan nasional kita dewasa ini, nampaknya makin diperkeruh lagi dengan *tingginya konflik* dan "power struggle" antar elit dan kekuatan politik. (G3, 2)
Disintegration which is threatening the existence of a unitary state and national integrity these days seems to be worsened by the *heightened conflict* and power struggle among the political elite.

(30) Sebagai bangsa yang besar, kita sedapat mungkin mampu memainkan peran keteladanan tentang bagaimana suatu proses transisi dari otoritarianisme ke demokrasi, dari sistem yang bersifat "personal rule" ke *supremasi hukum*, berlangsung dengan aman dan sukses. (G3, 5)
As a great nation, we have to show we are capable of making a smooth and successful transition from an authoritarian regime to a democratic one, and from a system of personal rule to one based on the *supremacy of law*.

(31) Untuk itu, kepada mereka perlu *dibuka akses informasi*, kebebasan berorganisasi dan kesempatan berpartisipasi dalam pengambilan keputusan yang menyangkut dirinya sendiri. (G1, 2)
There is therefore a need for them to have open access to information, freedom to organise, and also the opportunity to participate in the decision-making proccess involving their own self-being.

E. Code Switching

e.g. critical mass, power struggle, personal rule, civil society, understanding, technical arrangement

(32) Salah satu hasil nyata pembangunan tersebut adalah semakin meningkatnya kualitas dan jumlah manusia Indonesia yang terdidik, sehingga tercapailah suatu "*critical mass*" (H3, 2)
One significant result of development is an increase in the quality of education and the number of educated Indonesians, which has reached a certain "*critical mass*"...

(33) Arus disintegrasi yang benar-benar mengancam eksistensi negara kesatuan dan keutuhan nasional kita dewasa ini, nampaknya makin diperkeruh lagi dengan tingginya konflik dan "*power struggle*" antar elit dan kekuatan politik. (G3, 2)
Disintegration which is threatening the existence of a unitary state and national integrity these days seems to be worsened by the heightened conflict and *power struggle* among the political elite.

(34) ...kita sedapat mungkin mampu memainkan peran keteladanan tentang bagaimana suatu proses transisi dari otoritarianisme ke demokrasi, dari sistem yang bersifat "*personal rule*" ke supremasi hukum, berlangsung dengan aman dan sukses. (G3, 5)
...we have to show we are capable of making a smooth and successful transition from an authoritarian regime to a democratic one, and from a system of *personal rule* to one based on the supremacy of law.

(35) Hadirnya begitu banyak institusi, asosiasi dan organisasi di luar formasi negara dalam dua tahun terakhir ini merupakan pertanda yang positif. Terutama jika kiprah mereka mengarah pada terbentuknya masyarakat yang mampu menolong dirinya dan menyelesaikan masalah-masalahnya sendiri, masyarakat yang mandiri secara ekonomi dan secara intelektual, atau yang lazim disebut "*civil society*." (G1, 1)
The increase in the number of institutions, associations, and organisations outside the state's formation for the last two years has been a good sign, especially if their performance is geared toward forming a self-sustaining society, which is capable of overcoming its own problems, namely an economically and intellectually self-supporting society commonly known as a *civil society*.

(36) Adapun "Kesepahaman Bersama tentang Jeda Kemanusiaan untuk Aceh" bukan merupakan "perjanjian" formal, namun lebih bersifat sebuah "*understanding*" mengenai "*technical arrangement*"... (G2, 8)
Even the "Joint Understanding on Aceh" is not a formal "contract" however it is more like an "*understanding*" concerning a "*technical arrangement...*"

F. Loan Shift

(37) ...kita juga telah menerima tawaran pihak-pihak luar negeri-yang akan dikoordinasikan oleh UNDP-untuk membantu dan ikut memantau pelaksanaan Pemilu tersebut. Kesemua itu dilakukan karena pemerintah sadar betul bahwa Pemilu yang diterima, *dipercaya dan dihormati rakyat* (*legitimate*) merupakan suatu keharusan, dalam rangka membentuk pemerintahan yang dapat berfungsi secara efisien dan efektif dalam mengembalikan pertumbuhan pembangunan nasional, serta dalam membangun kehidupan demokrasi yang sejati. (H1, 3)
...we have also received offers from foreign parties-to be coordinated by the UNDP-to help monitor the general Election. The Government is fully aware all of this is a necessary condition for the general election to be *trusted and respected* by the people, in the framework of forming a government that functions efficiently and effectively to restore the national development growth and to build a true democracy.

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